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Transforming the Everyday into the Extraordinary: Religious Processions in Portugal

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Cover Page Footnote
I would like to thank Suzel Reily for her guidance in developing this piece. I would also like to thank Fausto Moreira and the Sociedade Filarmónica de Covões for giving me the opportunity to perform with them and become part of their community.

Transforming the Everyday into the Extraordinary

Religious Processions in Portugal

Katherine Brucher

Every year, the Sociedade Filarmónica de Covões (Philharmonic Society of Covões), an amateur wind band, accompanies the religious procession during the celebration of the Feast of Santo Amaro on January 15 in Picoto, a Portuguese hamlet in the parish of Covões. Santo Amaro is considered a miraculous saint with healing powers.[1] The small shrine adjacent to the chapel in the center of the village is a pilgrimage destination for the region. Hundreds of people attend the feast, and the procession is the focal point of the day. The band's annual performance reinforces a close bond between the band and the community its members call home. A brief description of the events that took place on January 15, 2011, based on my fieldnotes from that day, illustrates many of the features of the processions and the wind bands that I discuss in this essay.

The procession began immediately following Mass at noon. Crowds of people milled about in the churchyard as the chapel bells tolled. The Philharmonic Society of Covões exited the chapel, where they had sung Mass. They collected their instruments and formed 10 rows, four musicians across. That morning, the band had already played at an *arruada*, a street parade that accompanies feast organizers as they go from door to door asking for donations to support the feast, so the musicians required little time to warm up. Tubas and trombones stood in the front two rows, followed by tenor saxophones, euphoniums, and baritone horns. Alto saxophones and trumpets lined up next. The bass drum, snare drums, and cymbals took position in the middle of the formation, followed by the trumpets, clarinets, and finally the flutes and piccolo in the back row. Fausto Moreira, director of the band, raised his hands and shouted, "Atenção! [Attention!]" The musicians turned their attention toward him. He held his hands aloft: "Uma! [One!]" The bass drummer thumped his drum once. Moreira gave a preparatory gesture, the bass drummer signaled two beats, and the musicians began to play the *marcha da procissão* (processional), *São Sebastião*, composed by Capt. Amílcar Morais.

The other participants in the procession lined up in the churchyard. Three men led the head of the procession carrying a silver cross, flanked by two vessels. Behind them, deacons, members of confraternities, and feast organizers marched carrying banners embroidered with the names of the confraternities and their saints. Next came the *imagens* (statues) of Nossa Senhora de Fátima (Our Lady of Fatima) and São Romão (St. Romão), carried on litters decorated with fresh flower arrangements. Picoto's patron saint, Santo Amaro, was third. Although his statue was the smallest, the arrangement of blue and white flowers was particularly ornate. Throughout the year, the statues of the saints reside in the small chapel, but on the feast day, they are brought out in the streets. People who had made promises to Santo Amaro walked in two parallel lines between

[1] Santo Amaro (St. Maurus) was a sixth-century monk who followed Benedict. Jan. 15 is no longer the official feast date for St. Maurus, but Picoto celebrates on the archaic date. Benedictine communities celebrate the Feast of Maurus with the Feast of Placid on Oct. 5. See David Farmer, "Maurus," *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 341.

the statues of the saints; many carried wax effigies of the parts of the body that they hoped Santo Amaro would heal. The priest wore white vestments and walked behind the statue of Santo Amaro. Six men wearing red capes carried a white embroidered canopy above the priest. Finally, the band processed behind the priest. They, too, wore their dress uniform—navy blue wool trousers and blazers, white button-down shirts, blue-striped ties, and navy blue hats. Last, members of the community walked behind the band (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Statue of Santo Amaro being carried into the churchyard, Picoto (Covões, Portugal), Jan. 15, 2011. Photo by author.

The band played slow marches as the procession moved from the churchyard down the main road through the village. The cadence of the drums and the rich sound of the brass and woodwinds provided a steady accompaniment as the faithful carried the saints. Residents hung embroidered bedspreads and tapestries from windows, and in front of many houses, people had strewn fragrant flowers and greenery in the roadway. All along the way, people kneeled as the statues and the priest passed. At the edge of the village, a small temporary shrine to the Virgin had been erected in the middle of the road. Here, the procession doubled back. When the procession returned to the church, the band stood in formation and played as the statues of the saints were carried back inside. After the priest concluded the procession with a benediction, the band signaled a transition from sacred to secular with a brief concert of popular songs and up-

tempo marches. The crowd pressed close, and from my vantage point in the alto saxophone section, I recognized many people from surrounding villages. Family, friends, and former band musicians gathered to listen. When the concert ended, musicians chatted with each other and audience members. Slowly, people dispersed for their midday meal.

Musical "Theology of the Streets"

Roman Catholic patron saint processions like the one in Picoto take place in the street. These public displays of religious devotion are held around the world, but they are especially common in Mediterranean Europe and Latin America. The statue of the patron saint, as well as others housed in the church, is carried through the streets on a prescribed route in an act of devotion that sacralizes the community. For participants, sensory experiences (sight, sound, touch, taste, and smell) index the celebration of feast days. Thomas Turino's formulation of Peircian semiotics outlines how experiences and material objects accrue symbolic meaning through repeated association: "the power of indices derives from the fact that the sign-object relations are based on co-occurrences within one's own life experiences, and thus become intimately bound as experience."[2] Sound, however, is particularly important in establishing a sense of place for the feast, and in Portugal wind bands are a mainstay of religious processions.

In this essay, I compare and contrast four processions that reflect the people, their geography, history, and the religious practices of the community celebrating the patron saint feast. Wind bands accompany three of the four processions. Amateur *bandas filarmónicas* like the Philharmonic Society of Covões often perform this service. For each procession, I examine how musical accompaniment is embedded in the rituals. Similarities between processions suggest common elements of processional music and performance practice. Descriptions and observations draw from my fieldnotes and audio and video recordings of events, but they are also informed by conversations I had with band musicians, clergy, and community members. Much of what I observed was from my vantage point in the alto saxophone section of the Philharmonic Society of Covões. I participated in dozens of processions during both short and extended stays in Portugal during the period 2001–2011, so I place the events described in this essay within a broader context of what is typical or atypical.

The procession of Santo Amaro in Picoto provides a window onto the intimate experience of a procession in a small village where many of the musicians have close ties to the community. I played alto saxophone with the Philharmonic Society of Covões at this feast in 2011. The nighttime candlelight procession (*procissão das velas*) in honor of Nossa Senhora de Vagos (Our Lady of Vagos) in Cantanhede, a municipality in the district of Coimbra, is an example of a procession situated in a large town. This evening procession offers an opportunity to consider how bands use repertory to mobilize participants not only physically but also spiritually. I performed at this feast with the Covões band in 2002 and documented it as an observer in 2011.

[2] Thomas Turino, "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music Author(s)," *Ethnomusicology* 43/2 (1999): 227.

Finally, I consider the candlelight and daytime processions held in honor of Nossa Senhora da Saúde (Our Lady of Health) in Lisbon in May 2003. The evening procession was unaccompanied; participants sang throughout. In contrast, the daytime procession relied on professional military bands for accompaniment and attracted thousands of participants as it traversed the Baixa and Mouraria neighborhoods. The sound of the feast transformed a busy commercial district and culturally diverse area into a space of religious devotion patronized by participants who were primarily white and ethnically Portuguese. The way that sound as well as other sensoria transform the neighborhood during the procession must be understood in relation to power relations between the church and the nation, Portugal and its former colonies, and white ethnic Portuguese and more recent immigrants. The question of who belongs in the festive space is embedded in a broader discourse of religion and local and national identity. Even in the moment of religious devotion, the streets are contested space.

In this essay, I propose the street as an important social domain for understanding what wind bands do in the context of processions. Scholars who study Roman Catholic religious processions emphasize the importance of the street as the place where the ritual drama of the feast plays out.[3] Robert Orsi, a historian of religion, proposes a "theology of the streets."[4] Through public displays of devotion to Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the streets of East Harlem (New York City), Italian immigrants and their descendants integrate their worldview with their Roman Catholic faith.[5] For Orsi, a "theology of the streets" moves toward an understanding of people's "lived" religious experience as opposed to an account of processions from the perspective of ecclesiastical authorities, who, in the case of Italian Harlem, were often at odds with the community's preferred religious practices.[6]

Roberto DaMatta similarly emphasizes processions, along with Carnival and military parades, as key rituals that "express a different way of perceiving, interpreting, and representing what one would like to epitomize as the social 'reality' of Brazil."[7] For DaMatta, processions are distinctive because while they are organized around social hierarchies of ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities, different social classes mix in the crowd of people who have made promises to the saint: "For while the honored saint is being carried in procession and is therefore separated from the people by his nature and by the authorities around him, he is simultaneously travelling with the common people and receiving their prayers, hymns, and displays of piety in the street rather than in church."[8] Ultimately, processions follow a predictable route, sacralizing the community and helping to dissolve boundaries between social classes as well as between public and private spheres as people come out of the home and into the street to express their individual devotion together.[9] Edith and Victor Turner note that this voluntary rite of association

[3] Roberto DaMatta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, trans. John Drury (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 63–4.
[4] Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 219.
[5] Orsi, *Madonna of 115th Street*, 183, 231.
[6] Orsi, *Madonna of 115th Street*, xiii–xiv; xvii–xviii.
[7] DaMatta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, 45.
[8] DaMatta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, 44.
[9] DaMatta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, 75–76.

characterizes Roman Catholic religious pilgrimages, which they argue contributes to a sense of *communitas* created by communal participation in the rituals of pilgrimage.[10]

Music structures much of the movement, gathering, and worship that take place during processions. Cultural geographer Lily Kong notes that there has been relatively little written about music in religious processions. Scholars have documented religious pilgrimages and secular parades,[11] but few contemporary studies address the role of music in the construction of space and place through processions. Kong argues that "sacred space is defined visually and materially through landscapes, but it is also constituted of soundscapes and timescapes, as the aural and temporal also contribute to the marking out of sacred space."[12] If a "theology of the streets" constitutes community with respect to religiosity in the public spaces of a community, how does music contribute to participants' experience of religious rituals? How does music transform the streets from a place of everyday experiences (business, transit, etc.) into a sacred space for religious experience and communal celebration?

The processions described in this essay are similar to the ones discussed by Orsi and DaMatta in that Portuguese (and Portuguese-American) *festas* take place literally outside the church in the streets and plazas of parishes, and also reflect the more metaphorical notion of religious practices that are "of the people" rather than prescribed by religious authorities. A full discussion of Portuguese Catholicism is beyond the scope of this essay; however, the processions in Portugal offer an opportunity for considering how people engage with religion through public devotion. The majority of people in Portugal identify as Roman Catholic, but far fewer attend church on a regular basis. For example, during the period that I conducted fieldwork, few people attended Mass at Covões's church on ordinary days. However, on the occasion of the annual patron saint feast, Mass was very crowded, and hundreds more lined the streets for the procession.

The physical experience of coming together in the street is accompanied by music. Cultural geographer Michelle Duffy explores how soundscapes help structure how people relate to each other in festive environments. Although Duffy describes secular events in her work—an LGBTQ parade,[13] an ethnic heritage festival,[14] and a music festival[15]—her analysis offers several possibilities for how music and other sounds facilitate or inhibit feelings of community in public spaces. Duffy proposes rhythm as a central mechanism for contributing to a feeling of unity as it helps coordinate people's movements in a shared space. Drawing on Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's theorization of rhythm as metaphor and on Christopher Hasty's exploration of musical rhythm, Duffy, Gordon Waitt, and Christopher Gibson view rhythm as any regular repetition that encompasses both the rhythms of the body, musical rhythms, and larger-scale time cycles such as

[10] Victor Turner and Edith A. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 9, 13.

[11] Lily Kong, "Religious Processions: Urban Politics and Poetics," *Temenos* 41/2 (2005): 227.

[12] Kong, "Religious Processions," 247.

[13] Michelle Duffy, Gordon R. Waitt, and Christopher R. Gibson, "Get into the Groove: The Role of Sound in Generating a Sense of Belonging in Street Parades," *Altitude: A Journal of Emerging Humanities Work* 8 (2007): 1–32.

[14] Duffy, Waitt, and Gibson, "Getting into the Groove," 12–16.

[15] Michelle Duffy, "Lines of Drift: Festival Participation and Performing a Sense of Place," *Popular Music* 19/1 (2000): 51–64.

the seasons.[16] In "Lines of Drift: Festival Participation and Performing a Sense of Place," Duffy writes that "rhythm orders sound into a musical structure, so mapping space through repeated signs is a means of establishing a structure of possession."[17] Music contributes to this "rhythmic time-space" in crucial ways by coordinating movement and organizing time through marches and by contributing to a spectacular environment that differentiates feast days from everyday experience and helps create a sense of religious devotion.[18]

Music is a fundamental part of processions in Portugal. In her description of Brazilian *folias*, Suzel Reily notes that "participatory musical performance within a religious context provides a means of orchestrating ritual enactment in such a way as to allow participants to proclaim their religious truths at the same time as their coordinated interactions during music making re-create the social ideals embodied in their religious tenets."[19] Most processions for patron saint feasts (although not all, as I discuss below) rely on bands, particularly amateur bandas filarmónicas, for accompaniment. While processions do not have to include bands,[20] the musicians I spoke with could identify few processions that take place without band accompaniment.

The inclusion of large wind bands in Portuguese religious processions likely dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Functions of the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese crown overlapped during centuries of absolute monarchy, and processions demonstrated the power of the crown through spectacle, which included ostentatious audio-visual displays.[21] When the Portuguese military began to adopt wind bands modeled after those accompanying French and British regiments during the Peninsular War (1807–1814), the newly formed military bands likely accompanied processions of the church and court.[22] By the middle of the nineteenth century, civilian wind bands gained popularity outside the military as voluntary associations. Bands formed in smaller towns and villages, where they accompanied local religious processions modeled after those held in Lisbon.[23]

Wind bands, whether amateur groups like the Philharmonic Society of Covões or professional military bands like the Banda da Guarda Nacional Republicana (National Republican Guard Band), have developed repertory and performance practices well suited to the rituals of religious processions. Their sound, a heterogeneous mix of woodwinds, brass, and percussion, contributes to the spectacle that characterizes Portuguese religious processions. The appearance of the band—a massed body of musicians marching in step, dressed in militaristic uniforms, and carrying shiny instruments—enhances the visual spectacle of the procession. The bands mobilize people physically as they move through the streets with the patron saints, and the music calls people to the procession while simultaneously sounding out the boundaries of the

[16] Duffy, Waitt, and Gibson, "Get into the Groove," 5.
[17] Duffy, "Lines of Drift," 55.
[18] Duffy, Waitt, and Gibson, "Get into the Groove," 8.
[19] Suzel Ana Reily, *Voices of the Magi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 3.
[20] Fr. Henrique José Ribeiro Figueiredo Maçarico (parish priest, Covões, Portugal), personal communication, June 22, 2009.
[21] See Júnia Ferreira Furtado, "Desfilar: a procissão barroca," *Revista Brasileira de História* 33 (1997): 251–79.
[22] Katherine Brucher, "*A Banda da Terra*: *Bandas Filarmónicas* and the Performance of Place in Portugal" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2005), 101–02.
[23] Brucher, "*A Banda da Terra,*" 106–07.

community hosting the feast. Although the musicians may play a specialized role in the ritual action for which they have studied and rehearsed, their music helps orchestrate the participation of others in the procession. Ultimately, the bands are the musical engine of the procession that provides a rhythmic framework for the event and helps articulate the spatial dimensions of community. If successful, a band's performance contributes to a communal sense of flow and the social cohesion that derives from such experiences.

Feast of Santo Amaro, Picoto

The procession in honor of Santo Amaro described above illustrates the basic organization of a procession and the role of the band accompanying it. In Picoto, as in most small villages in the north of Portugal, the feast of the patron saint is the major annual event. The procession reaffirms community and a common religious identity through the experience of communitas. Music mobilizes communal action in the street by signaling that the procession has begun and by coordinating the physical movements of participants. In the case of this feast, the Covões band has a special relationship with the community because several musicians are from Picoto, and the band has accompanied the procession regularly for decades.

The Covões band provides rhythmic accompaniment for the procession that organizes communal action. As the church bells ring and the fireworks boom overhead at the start of the procession, the band begins to play its first march, establishing a regular pace for the procession. The entire procession moves at the tempo of the band, and participants tend to synchronize with the duple meter of the march even if they do not march in step. The band plays throughout the procession. When the procession passes through a street with few spectators, the band may not play a march, but the snare drummers continually play rhythmic cadences. These drummers provide consistency of rhythm for the duration of the procession, but they can also alter its pace. Occasionally a procession moves faster than the tempo of marches. In that case, the drummers will cadence at a faster pace during the breaks between marches, so the musicians and anyone walking behind them can catch up to the rest of procession. On rare occasions, the band may play a march at a faster-than-usual tempo in an effort to speed up a very slow procession.

The band also helps structure the "rhythmic space-time" of the feast through the repetition of their annual performance.[24] Duffy, drawing on Deleuze and Gutarri, uses rhythm to define "the 'lived' experience of the music" and "suggest a sense of agency, that within the concept of rhythm there is a will to control space and time."[25] The band helps order people's experience, including how the residents of Picoto, visitors, local officials, the priest, the musicians, and the saint interact within the space occupied by the procession. Perhaps most crucially, all of these participants share a similar experience set to the band's music year after year. As far back as the musicians can remember, the Covões band has played for this feast. The band's presence indexes the feast for participants, who associate the group's particular repertory, instrumentation, timbre, and playing style with the procession. The band is part of a broader sensorium that includes the

[24] Duffy, Waitt, and Gibson, "Get into the Groove," 8.
[25] Duffy, "Lines of Drift," 55.

sights, smells, and feel of being in the procession that are repeated with little variation every year.

Importantly, the procession mobilizes participants within the demarcated public space of the church plaza and the main road through the village, while the specialized sounds of the feast set this day apart from all others in the calendar year. The music helps organize the participants in the rituals of religious devotion. The sound of the band invites people into the street. Residents throw open their gates and windows and come out to meet the procession as it passes by. Visitors park their cars on the side of the road and gather in the plaza or line the streets where the procession will pass. Sound blurs boundaries between street and home because the band is audible to those inside or at locations at a distance from the procession route. The procession traverses the main artery of the village, for there are few roads in Picoto, and the route brings everyone back to the church, reinforcing the symbolism of the church and patron saint as the center of the community.

DaMatta views the moment when everyone has joined together in the veneration of the saint in the street as the point when social divisions within society begin to dissolve.[26] In the case of a small hamlet like Picoto, many people already know each other, but the experience of the procession reinforces their social bonds. Festival organizers, individuals who made promises to the saint, the priest, members of the local brotherhoods, local representatives from the parish council, and the band have different roles in the rituals of the procession, and they are joined by others who come simply to watch and eat a meal with family and friends, and still others who buy and sell goods in the small market that is set up for the feast day. In other words, individuals may have different motivations for participation, but the procession is a form of collective action that brings them together. The sound of the band, along with the fireworks exploding overhead and the recitation of prayers, contributes to a soundscape that helps set these social relations in motion.

Communities take great pride in their processions. At a 2002 procession in a village near Picoto, a resident described it to me as an occasion "to honor the saint as if he were the king" (*honrar o santo como fosse o rei*). While her comment refers to the history of processions in Portugal's absolute monarchy, it also suggests something of the pride that small parishes take in mounting a procession worthy of royalty with relatively limited resources. Having ornate flower arrangements, well-kept banners, and a band accompanying the procession is part of the spectacle. Feast organizers solicit donations from households in the village as well as from attendees to help defray the costs, and the collective effort and sacrifice of time and money are acknowledged.

In Picoto, the band's presence is expected and enjoyed, and likewise, musicians look forward to playing at this feast. The religious procession is only one part of the shared experience of the feast, and the rituals with more secular overtones—the arruada, the feast meal itself, the open-air market near the churchyard—contribute to the overall experience of the feast. The band is paid for its performance; a set percentage of the fee goes to regular maintenance of the ensemble and its rehearsal hall, a smaller amount goes to the director, and the rest is divided among the

[26] DaMatta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, 75.

musicians who performed at that particular feast. Although musicians receive remuneration, they also experience communitas, which helps connect musicians to each other and to the broader community. The Mass and procession have an intimate feel. The chapel is tiny and streets are narrow, so the musicians are in close quarters with their audience, sometimes little more than an arm's length away.

Most of the people who attend this feast annually have some kind of connection to the band through the proximity of Picoto to Covões. Special moments of hospitality enhance the sense that accompanying this procession is more than a service for hire. In 2011, the band's day started at the house of Zé, an alto saxophonist who has played with the band for over a decade. His family set out a table of snacks in their garage, and musicians chatted and ate before warming up on their instruments. During the arruada that preceded the procession, families along the way offered refreshments to the musicians such as cookies, cakes, mineral water, and small glasses of port. Following the procession, the entire band was invited to a lunch hosted by the family of the band's newest clarinetist, a twelve-year-old girl who had joined the band that year. During the rehearsal before the feast, the band looked forward to the day with great enthusiasm, and through their performances throughout the day they expressed their loyalty to a community that has supported the band over the years.

Feast of Nossa Senhora de Vagos, Candlelight Procession, Cantanhede

The candlelight procession for Nossa Senhora de Vagos (Our Lady of Vagos) takes place in Cantanhede on the Monday following the Feast of the Pentecost. This procession differs from the one in Picoto in several ways. Cantanhede is a small city, and the pilgrimage in honor of Our Lady of Vagos attracts a greater following than that of Picoto. The candlelight procession, which takes place in near darkness, focuses the senses on sound in a way that daylight processions do not. Covões is a parish that belongs to the municipality of Cantanhede, but unlike Picoto, very few musicians reside in Cantanhede itself. As a result, the band does not have as close ties to the community as it does to Picoto. Bands perform a service to the community that hires them to accompany processions, but they also seek to establish and maintain their reputations as musical organizations. Within the narrow parameters of the procession, band directors make subtle choices regarding repertory and performance practice to showcase their organizations as they perform in the street. A good performance includes not only musicality and technical proficiency, but also professionalism and respect for tradition. When a performance is most effective, bands mobilize the common religious sentiments of the participants.

The Feast of Nossa Senhora de Vagos commemorates a miracle attributed to the intercession of Mary on behalf of farmers in Cantanhede. According to legend, centuries ago Cantanhede suffered a four-year drought. Seeking divine intervention, farmers made a 30-kilometer pilgrimage from Cantanhede to the Sanctuary of Santa Maria de Vagos, and then the rains finally came. As part of their promise, faithful from Cantanhede continue to make a pilgrimage to Vagos for the Feast of Nossa Senhora de Vagos held annually on the Monday after Pentecost. When they return to Cantanhede the following day, the feast is commemorated in Cantanhede with an

evening procession.[27] For contemporary celebrations of the feast, the parish of Cantanhede contracts at least one of the three bands from the municipality to play an arruada in the morning and then accompany the evening procession. The Covões band performs for the feast every few years. I had played saxophone with the band at this feast previously, and in 2011 I was able to observe and film the procession by walking behind the band.

The evening procession of Nossa Senhora de Vagos begins in front of the church in Cantanhede, located in the center of the town on the Plaza Marques de Marialva. In 2011, the Covões band assembled in the square around 9 p.m. on Tuesday, June 14, shortly before the conclusion of Mass. The band was not needed for Mass because the church has a choir. The band had accompanied the arruada that morning, but several musicians only played for the evening procession because they had work or school during the day. The organization of the procession was similar to the one in Picoto, but on a grander scale. In Cantanhede, the local police, scout troop, and that year's communion class all participated, and hundreds of people carried candles as they walked in the procession. The Covões band took its place behind the clergy, who followed the statue of Nossa Senhora de Vagos.

The procession route circles through the older part of Cantanhede, which contributes to the distinct sound and feel of the procession. Buildings are built right to the edge of cobblestone streets, and with the exception of the main square and a few small public gardens, there is very little open space or greenery. Sound bounces off the stone buildings and streets, and as a result, the sound of the procession is naturally amplified in the urban environment. The route through the historic city center also places the procession in Cantanhede's long history along with the duke of Marialva, whose statue stands in the square adjacent to the church, and the palace of the Meneses family, now city hall. Cantanhede has grown significantly since the 1990s with the construction of a large industrial park, a burgeoning tourist industry, and an annual summer festival, Expofacic. The fairgrounds and industrial park are all located on the outskirts of the urban area alongside new residential subdivisions, but these areas of the city are not included in the procession.

The evening procession takes place in darkness, and this has practical implications for the band, which strives to sound its best at all performances. The musicians typically read notation affixed to their instruments with metal lyres. However, at night it's nearly impossible to see notation even when there are streetlights. The procession is also challenging because it is quite long, and musicians tend to be tired at the end of the day. Fausto Moreira, the director of the Philharmonic Society of Covões, selects processionals from the band's repertory that most musicians know well enough to play from memory. Similarities across the genre also facilitate musicians' knowledge of marches as well as the audience's expectations. Marchas da procissão all share a similar form and style. The marches are played at a relatively slow tempo (mm = 72–80 bpm), and there is rarely any syncopation or variation in the duple feel. Each march consists of three to four contrasting strains. Most composers use block orchestration, where whole

[27] Correia Góis, "Nos caminhos de Santa Maria de Vagos," *A Mensageiro de Santo António*, 7 (July–August 2003); http://www.mensageirosantoantonio.com/messaggero/pagina_articolo.asp?IDX=111IDRX=21 (accessed Sept. 21, 2016).

sections or groups of instruments play the same part. Since everyone plays together, the music is louder. Block orchestration also makes a march easier to play because no single musician is exposed. The melodies are lyrical and are played in a manner reminiscent of bel canto singing. Harmonic progressions tend to be quite straightforward.

A typical march, such as *Avé Maria*, composed by Alberto Madureira da Silva, begins with an introductory brass fanfare in the minor mode.[28] In the first strain, clarinets and trumpets play a lyrical melody accompanied by a walking "oom-pah" rhythm played by the low brass and percussion. The second strain contrasts brass and woodwind choirs. Loud trumpets play a melodic phrase answered by the woodwinds, which naturally play at a lower volume. The march then repeats the first strain. The next section of the march features dramatic contrasts between the low brass and the high winds (similar to the "dogfight" in North American marches). A short transition modulates to the major mode, leading into the trio. Here, the orchestration is at its most dense, and the band plays at its loudest volume. The melodies of the trio are the most memorable of the march. In the case of *Avé Maria,* the melody of the trio is based on a popular Marian hymn, *Ó Virgem do Rosário* (O Virgin of the Rosary).[29] Flutes, clarinets, alto saxophones, and trumpets play the melody in a high register while baritone horns and tenor saxophones play a countermelody mid-range. F horns and trombones provide harmony and rhythmic interest by playing on the offbeats. Low instruments such as the tubas, sousaphones, and baritone saxophones play a bass line that outlines the tonic and dominant chords of the underlying harmonic progression. Finally, the percussion gives the march a sense of forward motion.

Despite the similarity between marches and the relatively fixed organization of processions, band directors make repertory choices to help engage participants in the music. Over the course of a year, Moreira always calls for the same marcha da procissão at the beginning of a procession. In his view, this helps the band appear more professional because members know what march to select as they prepare to play. In my first few seasons with the Covões band, we began nearly every procession with *Transfiguração* (Transfiguration), a marcha da procissão composed by Capt. Amílcar Morais, but by 2011 we started processions with another march by Morais, *São Sebastião*. The moments before the procession begins can be quite chaotic, with noisy church bells, fireworks, and crowds of people, but it is also a time when a large number of people surround the band as they wait to take their place in the procession. Having the musicians ready to play a particular march helps the ensemble start off strong.

[28] FilarmónioPT maintains a YouTube playlist of bandas filarmónicas performing marchas de procissão. This is notable because bands rarely record processionals in studio settings; instead, they favor their concert repertory when they make recordings for sale and promotion. For a recording of *Marcha Avé Maria* played by the Banda Marcial de Tarouquela, see "Avé Maria," YouTube audio, 8:06, posted by FilarmoniaPT (sic), May 23, 2014, https://youtu.be/jgyPWvaYaKM (accessed Sept. 21, 2016). Maestro João Neves, a well-regarded band conductor, also posted a video to YouTube of the Banda Nova de Fermentelos accompanying a daytime procession with *Marcha Avé Maria*. Note that the soundscape includes church bells, birds, and talking in addition to the sound of the band, which can be heard long before it appears around three minutes into the video: "Avé Maria," YouTube video, 5:03, posted by João Neves, Dec. 19, 2015, https://youtu.be/I6MeCVlEIuY (accessed Sept. 21, 2016).

[29] This hymn is attributed to Pedro M. R. Caetano, and it is sometimes called by alternative titles, *Uma prece final* or *Adeus de Fátima*.

The director may also adapt the multistrain form of marches as necessary to fit the procession. For instance, Moreira might call for the band to repeat a march because he wants the band to play continuously during a crowded part of the procession route, or he might tell the musicians to jump ahead to the trio or *forte final* (final strain) when the band needs a shorter section of music. A band director may also call for a particular section of a march if it seems well suited to specific moment during the procession. In Cantanhede, Moreira called for the march *Avé Maria* as the band approached the churchyard at the end of the procession. By choosing this march to end the procession, Moreira orchestrated the band's performance so that they played a trio based on *Ó Virgem do Rosário* as the statue of Nossa Senhora de Vagos was carried backwards into the sanctuary. The culmination of the procession is an emotionally intense moment. In 2011, the crowd sang the hymn while the band played, and following the priest's benediction in the church, an elaborate fireworks display in front of Cantanhede's city hall marked the conclusion of the celebration. Although the band was not the focus of their attention, the music contributed to the spectacular environment and feeling of communal religious devotion.

Feast of Nossa Senhora da Saúde, Lisbon

The annual Feast of Nossa Senhora da Saúde (Our Lady of Health) in Lisbon shares many of the same features as the feasts held in rural towns and villages, but the grand scale and urban setting distinguish the procession from its smaller counterparts. Nossa Senhora da Saúde is the patron saint of the Real Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Saúde e de São Sebastião, located on Martim Moniz Plaza in Lisbon's Mouraria neighborhood. This small church is dwarfed by two multistory shopping centers, a large hotel, and a vast plaza. In addition to commerce, Martim Moniz is a major hub for public transportation lines, linking the Metro, electric tram, and several bus routes. The Feast of Nossa Senhora da Saúde includes two processions on a weekend in early May: a candlelight procession takes place on Saturday night, followed by a grand procession on Sunday afternoon. In 2003, the voices of the faithful provided the only accompaniment for the candlelight procession, which offers an opportunity to explore how a procession functions without a band. The next day, professional bands from the Portuguese Army, Navy, and Air Force as well as the amateur band from Lisbon's Fire Department accompanied the grand procession. The procession that I observed highlighted the efficacy of bands for directing the flow of people through space in ways that shape participants' sense of place.

The Mouraria is one of Lisbon's most diverse neighborhoods. Since the 1970s, immigrants from Africa, Asia, and South America have settled there. Sociologist Maria Mendes characterizes the Mouraria with a list of overlapping but seemingly opposite identities: "i. a neighborhood of immigrants and foreigners *versus* a neighborhood of indigenous [Portuguese]; ii. a typical and historical neighborhood *versus* a cosmopolitan neighborhood; iii. an exotic neighborhood *versus* an infamous neighborhood."[30] The processions take place amid tensions between a native-born,

[30] "i. *bairro dos imigrantes dos estrangeiro* versus *bairro dos autoclónes*; ii. *bairro típico e histórico* versus *bairro cosmopolita*; iii. *bairro exótico* versus *bairro defamada.*" Maria Manuela Mendes, "Bairro da Mouraria,

primarily Catholic population and a diverse immigrant population that practices Islam, Hinduism, and Evangelical Christianity in addition to Roman Catholicism.[31] As the procession wends its way from Martim Moniz and through the historic neighborhoods of the Mouraria and Baixa, the city is transformed into a space of religious devotion to Nossa Senhora da Saúde. However, given the Mouraria's diverse urban population, this change draws attention not only to those who experience the procession communally, but also to those excluded from the social hierarchy of the procession. Moreover, the procession mobilizes religious sentiments rooted in Portugal's identity as a Catholic nation that contrast with the ethnically and religiously diverse population of the neighborhood.

The procession of Nossa Senhora da Saúde dates from 1570, when residents of the hermitage in the Mouraria prayed to Mary to end an outbreak of the plague in Lisbon.[32] The cult of Our Lady of Health gradually attracted a large devotional following in Portugal that included both royalty and commoners.[33] While the procession dates to the sixteenth century, it was discontinued from 1910 to 1940 and again from 1974 to 1981 in response to political upheaval and anticlerical sentiment. The popular *fado* song *Há Festa na Mouraria* (There Is a Feast in the Mouraria), attributed to Gabriel de Oliveira and Alfredo Marceneiro, presents a nostalgic image of the procession passing through streets decorated with tapestries hanging from windows, petals on the ground, and surrounded by the people of the Mouraria—tough, but with religious souls.[34]

The contemporary procession includes representation from many church, government, professional, and youth groups in addition to social clubs from Lisbon. Regiments from the three branches of the Portuguese military, the Public Security Police, the Lisbon Fire Department, the Red Cross, the Escoteiros de Portugal (a national scouting organization), religious brotherhoods, parishes from throughout the city, and laity who have made vows to Nossa Senhora da Saúde all participate in the procession.[35] Similar to the pilgrimages described by Victor and Edith Turner in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, Roman Catholic Portuguese from many walks of life come together to celebrate the patron saint in rituals that take place in the street.[36] From a practical standpoint, these religious observances must take place in the plaza and streets; attendance at the procession greatly exceeds the capacity of the tiny Church of Nossa Senhora da Saúde e de São Sebastião. The procession brings the divine out of the church and into public, and it also draws people out of their apartments and from elsewhere in the city into the Baixa and

território de diversidade: entre a tradiçao e o cosmopolitismo," *Sociologia, Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, *Número temático: Imigração, Diversidade e Convivência Cultural* 2012: 21–22.

[31] Mendes, "Bairro da Mouraria," 28.

[32] "Procissão de Nossa Senhora da Saúde," Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (May 11, 2015); http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/procissao-de-nossa-senhora-da-saude (accessed Sept. 21, 2016).

[33] "Procissões pelas ruas de Lisboa: Procissão de Nossa Senhora da Saúde," *Pátrimonio Cultural*, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (2015), http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/viver/cultura-e-lazer/patrimonio-cultural/procissoes (accessed Sept. 21, 2016).

[34] Vitor Marceneiro, "Há Festa na Mouraria – Um Título . . . Dois Autores," *Lisboa no Guiness: A Cidade mais cantada no mundo* (22 April 2014), http://lisboanoguiness.blogs.sapo.pt/ha-festa-na-mouraria-um-titulo-dois-159397 (accessed Sept. 21, 2016).

[35] "Procissão de Nossa Senhora da Saúde."

[36] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 13, 36–38.

Mouraria. The procession offers an opportunity for individuals to communally demonstrate their devotion to the Virgin Mary in public.

The contrast between the musical accompaniment for the candlelight procession and the grand procession highlights the efficacy of bands for coordinating the movement of large groups of people. On Saturday, May 3, 2003, the candlelight procession began as twilight fell over Lisbon. Groups of people, many of them older women, gathered in front of the Real Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Saúde e de São Sebastião. At 9 p.m., a group of soldiers in full military dress carried the statue of Nossa Senhora da Saúde out of the church. The tall statue of Mary wore an embroidered gold dress, cape, and crown with a veil made from the wedding gown of Queen Maria Ana of Austria, the wife of King João V (reigned 1706–1750).[37] She was carried on a large litter adorned with an elaborate display of fresh flowers. A group of priests followed the statue, and about 1,000 people walked behind them. Unlike the other processions described in this essay, there was no instrumental accompaniment (see Figs. 2 and 3).

Figure 2: Nossa Senhora da Saúde carried in the candlelight procession, May 3, 2003, Lisbon. Photo by author.

[37] "Procissões pelas ruas de Lisboa: Procissão de Nossa Senhora da Saúde."

Figure 3: Candlelight procession in the streets of the Mouraria, May 3, 2003, Lisbon. Photo by author.

The evening procession had a distinctive sound. At the head of the procession, a man carried a handheld loudspeaker and recited the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary in alternation, and the crowd joined him in reciting prayers. Between prayers, the crowd sang hymns to the Virgin Mary continuously. It was not clear if the songs arose spontaneously or if individual singers led the singing. The older women sang the hymns in a very high tessitura with strained nasal vocal timbre, not unlike the sound favored by *ranchos folclóricos* (Portuguese folklore groups). From my place within the crowd walking behind the statue, I heard the individual voices of those around me, but when the procession entered particularly narrow streets, sound bounced off the tiled building exteriors, blending the heterogeneous mix of voices into a warm choir.

The Mouraria was surprisingly quiet for a Saturday night as the procession passed. Nearly every café was filled with men and boys watching a soccer match between Lisbon's two professional teams, Benfica and Sporting, but their shouts died down when the procession approached. The only sound was that of singing and feet shuffling over the cobblestone streets. In addition to the difference between voices and instruments, this procession had a different rhythmic feel than ones accompanied by bands. The group moved very quickly, and those who could not walk fast up the hilly cobblestone streets around the Castelo do São Jorge fell behind. While I would not characterize the lack of rhythmic unity as a sign of confusion or lack of social cohesion,[38] the procession had a noticeable lack of flow.

[38] Duffy, Waitt, and Gibson, "Get into the Groove," 15–16.

The procession that took place on Sunday afternoon employed the four professional bands of mixed winds and percussion as well as the Charanga a Cavalo of the National Republican Guard, a cavalry band of trumpets and kettledrums on horseback. The bands provided rhythmic organization for the procession, ensuring that a steady musical accompaniment played at all times, and also contributed to the overall spectacle. The procession was scheduled to begin at 4 p.m., following afternoon Mass at the Real Irmandade. Several thousand people gathered in Martim Moniz before Mass ended. Many uniformed police officers mixed with the crowd, and metal barriers marked the parade route. The crowd became especially chaotic when the statue of São Jorge (St. George), the patron saint of Portugal, passed by en route from the Castelo do São Jorge to Martim Moniz. St. George was mounted on a horse and accompanied by a cavalry unit. People seemed to think that the procession had already begun and tried to cross the street between the barriers to join the statue. The crowd surged again when a truck filled with small bouquets of rosemary passed by. A throng of older women mobbed the truck to request that the men riding in the back toss them these traditional tokens of Nossa Senhora da Saúde.

However, flares soon boomed in the afternoon sky over the plaza, announcing that the actual procession was set to begin. The Band of the Public Security Police (Banda de PSP) led the procession. When it began to play, the crowd focused its attention inward toward the procession and order began to be restored. The four bands followed in the procession at regular intervals between the litters with the saints, military regiments, and social organizations marching in the procession. A large group of people who had made promises to Nossa Senhora da Saúde walked behind the statue of the saint. She was even more spectacular in sunlight than she was by candlelight as sunlight shone on her golden robes. The priests followed behind those who had made promises, and the Band of the Republican National Guard, the premier military band in Portugal, brought up the rear, separating spectators from participants (see Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Statue of Nossa Senhora da Saúde in front of the Real Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Saúde e de São Sebastião, May 4, 2003, Lisbon. Photo by author.

Throughout the procession, the bands played marchas da procissão. Their repertory of processionals included many of the same marches played by amateur bandas filarmónicas. By chance or by design, the bands alternated playing marches, so that every other band was playing at any given time. This resulted in minimal clashing of sonorities while ensuring steady accompaniment throughout the procession. The military bands marched much more fluidly than the amateur bands, and the musicians swayed slightly from side to side, giving the impression of ocean waves. At points where the procession route doubled back on itself, bands passed each other while performing. If this bothered the musicians, they gave no sign, but the sound of two or more large bands performing different marches simultaneously added to the festive atmosphere. The bands drew spectators' attention to the procession and away from the many distractions in the urban environment (see Fig. 5).

Figure 5: Banda do Regimento de Sapadores Bombeiros de Lisboa (Lisbon Fire Department Band) marching through Martim Moniz Plaza, Procissão de Nossa Senhora da Saúde, May 4, 2003, Lisbon. Photo by author.

The spectacle of the procession changed the neighborhood for the duration of the procession. On an average day, Martim Moniz Plaza and the nearby Avenida Almirante de Reis are a noisy commercial area with heavy vehicle and foot traffic. In 2003, the blocks surrounding the procession route near the avenue and the Mouraria had yet to be gentrified. Many buildings were crumbling in disrepair, and the area had a reputation for street crime. Friends cautioned me to avoid this area in the evening after the shops closed, as muggings were not infrequent. The businesses in the neighborhood reflected the diverse population with a range of goods and

services, many of which were dominated by particular ethnic groups.[39] Even the Metro stop at Martim Moniz had a unique smell because there was an Indian grocery store in the tunnel leading from the station to one of the large shopping centers located on the square. Traffic zooming by, people speaking diverse languages, and a mix of Bollywood soundtracks, Brazilian pop, and West African *soukous* blaring from shops' sound systems contributed to the plaza's distinctive soundscape.

On the Sunday afternoon of the procession, the streets around Martim Moniz were closed to traffic, and few shops were open. Street cleaners had washed the streets the night before, so there was little of the dog waste and garbage that often gave Lisbon's streets a rank smell. Instead, incense and rosemary perfumed the air. All along the streets of the procession route, people had thrown open the windows on their verandas and hung brightly colored tapestries and bedspreads from their windows. As bands marched up Avenida Almirante de Reis, the sound of the trumpets soared over the procession route and echoed off the tiled buildings. Thousands of people had come into the neighborhood from elsewhere in Lisbon, and most spoke continental Portuguese. The mood in the crowd was pleasant—people were expectant and seemed happy as they waited for Nossa Senhora da Saúde to pass by.

The procession sacralizes the streets of the Mouraria and Baixa in the name of Nossa Senhora da Saúde. The people who attend the procession come together as a community connected by their shared experience in the space delineated by the route of the procession. Unlike the processions in the smaller towns and villages, the majority of the crowd did not already know one another, but they were temporarily engaged in the shared rituals of the procession. However, the transformation of the neighborhood highlights not just communitas between those who choose to attend, but also boundaries among social groups in the neighborhood. As people come together in the streets, they also lay claim to the streets. Robert Orsi describes a similar phenomenon in the Italian-American celebration of the Feast of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel in the late 1970s. Although East Harlem has been predominantly Puerto Rican for decades, former residents and their descendants continue to return to the neighborhood for the feast. In the streets, they reassert their identity as Italian-American Roman Catholics and claim their neighborhood as Italian Harlem.[40]

In this part of Lisbon, the procession plays a similar role in enacting ethnic and religious identity in the public space of the city streets. While the Mouraria has been home to diverse religions since it was established as Lisbon's Moorish quarter in the twelfth century, it is also celebrated as one of Lisbon's oldest and most "authentic" neighborhoods—a birthplace of Portuguese identity. For example, the plaza commemorates Martim Moniz, a hero of the Reconquest, who is said to have sacrificed himself on behalf of the Christian forces during the Siege of Lisbon in 1147. Thus, the procession of Nossa Senhora da Saúde indexes an identity that is historically white, ethnically Portuguese, and Roman Catholic.

Music plays a role in constructing this identity. The military bands, marching in strict time and in dress uniform, convey the power of the state and the Catholic Church. The genre of

[39] Mendes, "Bairro da Mouraria," 30.
[40] Orsi, *Madonna of 115th Street*, 185–86.

marcha da procissão reinforces an auditory illusion of unbroken tradition. Through the annual repetition of the procession, music becomes a powerful sign for claims to tradition. It calls participants to the streets, helps coordinate thousands as they process, and fills the sonic space of the feast. The procession momentarily displaces and silences neighbors who come from far-flung parts of the globe, speak many different languages, and may follow other religions. When the procession returns to Martim Moniz Plaza, the statue of Nossa Senhora da Saúde is carried back into the sanctuary and the bands cease playing. The crowd quickly disperses and many head away from the square, walking back to the Baixa or the nearby Metro station. Police begin removing the barricades and open the streets to regular traffic. Shortly afterward, the residents of the neighborhood resume their everyday routines.

Roman Catholic processions like the ones in Picoto, Cantanhede, and Lisbon are a key context for the manifestation of "lived religion," which takes place quite literally in the street. Lived religion exists, of course, within lived geography, and procession routes navigate the streets, neighborhoods, and natural terrain alongside the networks of social relations that constitute a sense of place.[41] The patron saints of the processions described in this essay all have a history of local miracles. The processions take place on dates ascribed to local legend rather than the Vatican calendar, and follow routes including streets and plazas that are most important to the community. Processions integrate sacred and secular activities, private and public spheres, and religious authority and popular sentiment, all within the domain of the street. Secular rituals such as the morning arruada, feast day market, and evening concerts and dances, as well as private activities such as a family's feast meal or an individual's promise to the saint, frame the procession. The participants express religious sentiments that are rooted in their devotion to their patron saint, but these are also deeply embedded in a sense of place and community.

A musical theology of the streets emerges from the way that participants expect music to order the rituals of the procession. Music mobilizes people physically and spiritually in the procession. As Lily Kong notes, soundscapes are a key part of how people experience religious processions as multisensory affairs. Music helps transform the everyday spaces of the street into a domain of the extraordinary. In addition to hearing music, people see musicians as part of the spectacle and feel rhythms kinesthetically as they process. However, the most effective musical performances not only move participants physically through the streets, but also engage their religious sentiments. The music accompanies the saint as he or she is brought out into the street in a ritual that temporarily, as Roberto DaMatta notes, dissolves social divisions among people in a given place. The saint is not just of the church, but also among the people, and individuals momentarily come together to celebrate the saint.

In the case of bandas filarmónicas, their significance stems from the way they index the experience of processions for many participants. While the processions I have observed in Portugal have similar components, participants view their feasts as a unique and important part of their local identity. Bands make subtle choices within the prescribed rituals and social hierarchy of the procession to encourage participants' sense of religious devotion as well as

[41] Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," *Marxism Today* (June 1991): 28.

identification with locality. By performing a march at an appropriate time—for instance, playing the trio of *Marcha Avé Maria* at the conclusion of a procession dedicated to the Virgin Mary—the band bolsters this sense of singularity as it sweeps the audience into the ritual by leading communal singing. Through repetition of rituals in the annual cycle, bands contribute to a collective sense of history and tradition connected to the patron saint. The repetition of the soundscape of a procession year after year shapes the expectations of all those who participate.

Processions, however, also articulate boundaries of communities. While a procession may be an inclusive experience for those who share in the communal expression of faith, it also separates those who attend the procession voluntarily from those who may simply be bystanders or are excluded from these religious practices. A procession lays claim to a neighborhood in the name of the patron saint and all those who identify with the saint. The processions described in this essay begin at the church, circle through the streets, and return to the church, symbolically placing the church at the center of the community and tracing the boundaries around it. The sounds of the procession drift beyond the route and announce that it is happening to all those in earshot, whether or not they have come to listen.

While I was conducting my fieldwork, many musicians as well as the parish priest in Covões pointed out that bands are not really needed for a procession, but when I asked about processions without musical accompaniment, people could come up with few examples. While the candlelight procession in Lisbon did not employ instrumental accompaniment, the faithful accompanied their journey through the Mouraria with communal singing. Sound, and music especially, functions as both an engine and a glue by helping to guide people in the procession, set the rhythm of their actions, and envelop the streets where the action takes place. Sensory experiences not only provide a spectacular context that sets a feast day apart from the everyday, but also structure the rituals where religious sentiments may be collectively expressed in the streets.